

Webster's Record.

UNION, THE CONSTITUTION AND THE LAWS—THE GUARDIANS OF OUR LIBERTY.

Vol. XXII.

THURSDAY, MAY 5, 1842.

No. 1192.

Whig State Convention.

The President, having taken the Chair, on motion of Mr. Eaton, of Granville, the reading of the journal was dispensed with.

Mr. LONG, of Halifax, being now loudly called on to read the pledge made this morning, he rose and spoke, in substance, as follows:

It is not my intention, Mr. President, to go into a general discussion of politics—to launch my little bark on the wide ocean of national affairs; but shall confine my remarks, principally, to topics, all-absorbing in their nature, and distracting the repose of the country. The Pet Bank system exploded—the Sub-Treasury repealed—the two Bank bills vetoed at the late session of Congress—the question very naturally arises, what disposition is to be made of the money, which may hereafter flow into the public coffers. Money is power. Place the whole amount of the vast revenue of this great empire under executive control, expressly against the spirit and letter of the constitution, and who can calculate the extent of the mischief which may follow. The freedom of the press assailed—the independence of the representatives weakened—the purity of the government contaminated at its very fountain—these evils, which are as darkly foreboding, should unhappily fall upon the country, they will be traced to the ill-fated measures commenced under the administrations of Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren, and carried out under the ill-omened ascendancy of John Tyler. I warn Mr. Tyler to pause in the paroxysm of warfare which he is waging for the presidency. I tell him to be unimpaired of his claims, if any he has—forget his supposed rival, Mr. Clay, that horrid phantom which disturbs his midnight slumbers—discard such envious feelings from his heart, as unworthy the President of a great people, and act alone for the general welfare, regardless of all other considerations. If he does not, truth will overtake him, and "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." But why tell him to pause—he has already struck the fatal blow, and the country is now bleeding at every pore from the effects of that stab. I have no faith in the promises of John Tyler. Professions often deceive—actions rarely err. The first may be couched in honored phrase, when the serpent is concealed, read to infuse its poison—the last speak a language which cannot be mistaken. I ask then, sir, if the acts of our present Chief Magistrate do not falsify his professions? Let us see. In his address to the people of the United States, subsequent to the death of the wise, the virtuous and the patriotic Harrison, he used the following emphatic language, which was copied for me to-day, from the files of the Register, by an intelligent and genuine Whig boy of this city:

"I shall promptly give my sanction to any constitutional measure which, originating in Congress, shall have for its object the restoration of a sound circulating medium, so essentially necessary to give confidence in all the transactions of life, to secure to industry its just and adequate rewards, and to re-establish the public prosperity. In deciding upon the adoption of any such measure to the end proposed, as well as its conformity to the constitution, I shall resort to the fathers of the great Republican school for advice and instruction, to be drawn from their sage views of our system of government, and the light of their ever glorious example."

But, sir, "a change has come over the spirit of his dream." He has lost sight of the ever glorious example of the fathers of the great Republican school, to whom he refers—Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe. What was the glorious example of those ever venerated fathers? Mr. Jefferson, in the year 1800, sanctioned an act to establish a branch of the U. S. Bank at New Orleans. True, Louisiana was then a territory, and Mr. Jefferson argued therefore that the constitutional question was not brought to bear—an argument which was seized upon with great avidity by the Van Buren faction, throughout the land—an argument intended for the weak and credulous; for did not the honorable Senator know that the mother bank was ultimately bound to redeem the notes of its branches? and that the notes of the Branch Bank not only circulated in the territory, but in the states; and if these notes were not unconstitutional in the territory, they were in the states, according to the doctrines of a Virginia abstractionist. Consequently, there should have been a prohibitory clause, confining their circulation to the territory. In as much then, as there was no such prohibitory clause, the example of Mr. Jefferson stands recorded on the side of the bank, the argument of Mr. Bixbee to the contrary notwithstanding. If Mr. Jefferson thought the Branch Bank at New Orleans unconstitutional, he nobly yielded this opinion, and with the feelings of a patriot, consulted the public good, by sanctioning its establishment.

Again, in 1807, he admitted the power of the United States Bank to issue notes, for why did he sign an act to punish counterfeiters of their notes? If these notes were unconstitutional, the Bank had no right to issue them, and Congress no power to punish counterfeiters of the notes of a Bank unconstitutional. Congress, however, thought differently—Mr. Jefferson, engaged with Congress, and sanctioned the act. Here, then, we have twice, the ever glorious example of this father of the Republican school. Yet this illustrious statesman, whose name is as broad as the universe, has been denounced as a demagogue. Demagogue as he was, he never failed to surrender up opinions, expressed in the course of friendly conversation, or private correspondence, when the good of the republic, and the happiness of millions, depended upon it, and ever looked with a single eye to the honor and prosperity of the country. Can the corporal's guard at Washington say as much, and tell the truth, for Captain Tyler?

Again, Mr. Monroe, another father of the great Republican school, always, yes, sir, always—admitted the power of Congress to establish a bank. Washington, himself, signed the first bank bill ever passed, and though not one of the fathers referred to by Mr. Tyler, the people, doubtless, would rather the accidental President should refer to the sage views of the father of his country—the light of his ever glorious example—than to those of every other Virginian, living or dead.

Mr. President, at the time Mr. Tyler penned the expression that he would "resort to the fathers of the great Republican school, for advice and instruction," no doubt he had in his mind's eye, James Madison. Not Mr. Madison as a delegate in the Convention, which framed the Federal constitution—not Mr. Madison, as a member of the Virginia Legislature—but Mr. Madison, as President of the United States, whose name is a tower of strength. Yes, sir, James Madison signed the Bank bill of 1816, which was introduced and sustained by John C. Calhoun, and in thus doing, was fully aware of the high responsibility he assumed; but he discharged the solemn duty, like a statesman and patriot as he was, acting for the good of his country, and not like a demagogue, merely gambling for place. Had Tyler followed his example, none would have charged him with insidiously bidding for the presidency. From this view of the subject, he would ask, if Mr. Tyler did not violate the promise he made in the extract just quoted, by vetoing the first bank bill passed at the extra session. Did he not also shamefully disregard the promise made to Ewing and Webster, by vetoing Sergeant's bank bill? And, by his stubbornness in this course of conduct, has he not shown his utter contempt for the wishes of a large majority of the American people who placed him in power, and utterly disregarded the dying injunction of the lamented Harrison? Is there a genuine Whig within these walls, so far wanting in honorable feeling, as to have hesitated a moment as to the course which he should have adopted under such circumstances? Ought such a weak and vacillating course to be tolerated? Does it not show too great a want of moral firmness? Let us, therefore, said Mr. L., exert ourselves to expel this political Judas from a place which he has already defiled. There should be no temporizing in our ranks. Uncompromising hostility to Tyler should be emblazoned on the Whig banner, as we unfurl it to the breeze. Otherwise, we shall be vanquished, as we would richly deserve, for wanting nerve to vindicate our principles and maintain our rights.

Sir, I have little confidence in public functionaries. Let us, therefore, guard against the influence of intriguing men, spread throughout this wide country, corrupting our notions of government, adding passion to ignorance, and prejudice to despair, keeping up an unhappy delusion, and poisoning the body politic to its heart's core. The citizens of this country, impelled by an ill directed passion, may, for a time, sustain men and measures which, in after days, they may deeply regret. This unbecoming thought, some when it will, and come it must, will have a salutary influence on the permanency of our free institutions. This factions spirit, this foul demon of malicious hate, this little contemptible party bickering, may temporarily throw its dark mantle over the fame of some of the ablest and purest of our statesmen. But statesmen, ever true to themselves, will find their country true to them, whilst ranking demagogues, whose vocation it is to operate upon the passions and prejudices, the ignorance and credulity of the uneducated crowd, whose hearts never beat with an ardent love of country, whose every thought is self, will.

"Go down To the vile dust from whence they sprang, Unwept, unhonored, and unsung."

Sir, I must be permitted to give utterance to the promptings of my heart, right or wrong, let the blows fall where they may, or offend whom they will. I believe that Daniel Webster belongs to that selfish class of politicians, which I have attempted to describe. A distinguished Loco Foco, of this state, once said that Daniel Webster would disgrace himself before he terminated his political career. Sir, the prophecy has been fulfilled—aye,

fulfilled to the very letter; for he has already disgraced himself by pulling off his gloves and shaking hands with the party to which that distinguished gentleman belongs. Mr. Webster could "see no sufficient reason for the dissolution of the late cabinet, by the voluntary act of its members," and therefore, with the lofty patriotism and enlarged views of a Swiss mercenary, keeps his place, and takes it upon himself to ensure the retiring members. Badger, Ewing, Granger, Bell and Crittenden acted as nobly in quitting the cabinet, as he acted badly, in pinning himself to the skirts of a President, warring in all the attributes of a statesman and gentleman. Go then, and publish it to the world, that Daniel Webster, intellectual giant as he is, once the proud champion of the whole North, and who had lived down the prejudices excited against him in the South, has fallen from his high estate, and basely truckled to power for place. Ambitious men have lived in every age and country—men, who for place, would surrender up opinions formed by experience and reflection, conspire against the honor of their country and the liberty of the people, creatures of avarice, low-hearted minions of power, slaves of wickedness and infamy—"his such base instruments as these that have caused the downfall of other republics, and may make this a melancholy ruin. Others may march under the tattered banner of Webster and Tyler, Van Buren and Johnson—we cannot—our cause is the cause of public virtue.

On the 4th of March, 1841, the good vessel of state was launched on a smooth and quiet sea, under the direction of a gallant commander. Then our hopes were buoyant in the triumph of virtue over avarice, of order over misrule; but, at the very moment the enemy had been driven to the wall, a cloud passed over our prospects, and enveloped in darkness our bright political sun. The virtuous Harrison was removed from this state of transitory existence—an event, which saddened the heart of every true Whig, and paralyzed for a while his exertions. Even the gentle hills, meadows and valleys seemed to participate in the general grief. The nodding plume, the muffled drum, and the cannon's thunder, solemnly proclaimed that the mighty was laid low in the dust. We miss and mourn our good President; but man was born to die, however exalted his station, great his power, or transcendent his talents. He cannot stay the hand of death—come it must, and come it will, in spite of all the boasted advances of medical science. So great a national calamity ought, for a while, at least, to have stilled the turbulent feelings of party; but so far from it, it seemed to turn loose the unbridled passions of faction. The Van Buren hyenas made straightway for the grave, to riot and fatten on their lifeless victim, and the awful howling of political wolves were heard throughout the land. Great God! does not humanity shudder and shrink back at a scene so revolting to our nature—a scene which places the abominable below the level of the brute creation—for the very cattle, when grazing in the fields, will show an instinctive grief when they come to a spot of earth stained with the blood of their kind.

But, Mr. President, let us turn from the contemplation of this hideous picture, to one of an ennobling and gratifying character. Let our eyes rest on that distinguished man who, amid all the struggles and conflicts of party, has always been the devoted friend of his country, and the able and fearless champion of human rights—I need not say, I allude to Henry Clay, of Kentucky.

Endowed by nature with a soul despising meanness, he has been constantly assailed and persecuted by political opponents, who have left no means untried to impair his fame—a fame which belongs to his country, and to destroy which, would blot out one of the brightest pages in that country's history. But republics are not always grateful. That country which, in November, 1840, filled the measure of her glory, by calling this great statesman from his repose at Ashland, to the highest office within its gift, thereby investing him with power to restore this government to its once proud position, and give back to a distressed people a sound currency, which alone can be accomplished through the medium of a National Bank. But, we are told by the Loco Foco party, that there is no express provision in the constitution, authorizing Congress to establish a bank. Neither is there any express provision in that instrument, taking from Congress that power. If then, this power has not been delegated to Congress, it is not one of the powers reserved to the state legislatures. For, the first article of the 10th section of the constitution of the United States, declares that no state shall pass bills of creditor making any thing but gold and silver a legal tender in payment of debts. We are however told by mushroom politicians, that Bank notes are bills of credit. If so, under that clause of the constitution quoted, no state has a right to establish a bank, and give to it the power to emit notes. The right of Congress to establish a bank has been triumphantly vindicated by the executive, judicial and legislative departments of

government. If such authority as this cannot settle a great Constitutional question in the absence of revolution, in the absence of a convention of the people, then the constitution is a useless piece of parchment, and we had as well go back to chaos, by converting society into its original elements, and from confusion, form a government de novo. But, this constitutional objection aside, and we are met by another, which, to my mind, is urged without honesty, but with much zeal—an objection which meets with its birth in party and is wedded to Loco Focoism—an objection as heartless in its character, as the purpose of its authors is destructive, wicked and deceitful. We are told that a bank is a monopoly, and confers on a favored few exclusive privileges. It is difficult to conceive how a man can be honest, and of sound mind, who urges such an objection before the country. A monopoly! What sort of monopoly? When a bank is chartered by Congress, there is a specified time for its going into operation, and before doing so, books are opened to every citizen; and if, from delay, a man fails to take stock in a bank, is he therefore to join in the breathless cry—down with a monopoly?

The business of banking is as much a species of traffic as dealing in corn or fodder. It is as much so, as the operations of the Roanoke Navigation, or the Raleigh and Gaston Rail Road Company. There is as much of the spirit of traffic about banks, as there is among merchants, or mechanics, when the former sells a yard of cloth, or the latter a cart or a wagon. But we are told that a bank, enlisted on the side of a President, will use its power against the liberties of the People. We have seen a Bank of the United States, arrayed, as was alleged, on the side of a President, and what power did it exert? If so arrayed, did it procure his re-election? We have seen a President enlisted against a bank; and we know that he did accomplish its downfall. The bank, at best, was but a strong infant in the arms of a giant. For one, he was heartily tired of this raw head and bloody bones, and by designing demagogues to frighten old women and young children. The country cannot prosper without such an institution. The experiment has been tried. History is Philosophy teaching by example. The notes of the old United States Bank were always equal to gold and silver. It made no difference where these notes were issued; they were all good and current. Then we had an abundance of specie, but every citizen, of every class, was glad to exchange it for United States notes. Besides, the Bank paid a heavy bonus to the government for the privilege of keeping its deposits. What a difference between this state of things, and that existing under the pet bank and sub treasury system. But he would not go into this branch of the question, or examine the achievements of those odious scamps, Boyd, Linn, Swartwout, Price, and many others.

A few remarks more, said Mr. L., and he would close. He regretted that he could not find language vivid enough, to give utterance to his feelings on the resolution, nominating Mr. Clay for the Presidency. His election would lay bare the tricks of political jugglers who have so long managed the complicated machinery of party. By it, they would be placed before the country unmasked, exposed to the indignant gaze of millions of freemen. How nobly has he acquitted himself, in every emergency? When the Missouri question, which threatened to convulse the nation to its centre, was agitated—when not a single bright spot appeared in the political sky—when dismay and apprehension filled every patriot's bosom—then, the great Clay threw himself into the breach, and by his touching appeals to the contending parties, reconciled the jarring elements of discord and strife, and gave back to a troubled country, tranquility. This act, alone, in the absence of all other claims, was sufficient to prepetuate his fame "to the last syllable of recorded time"—associating with it, as it did, all that was great, all that was good, all that was patriotic. His transcendent eloquence and vigor of intellect have given him an elevation in the national councils, that mark him as the master spirit of the age. Now, that the storm has burst upon us, and our good ship is again dashed against the foaming waves, shall we

"Quit the bark and seek the shore, When the winds whistle, and the tempest roar?" No, never! So long as the gallant Clay treads the deck, his deep-toned voice sounding upon the ear—"Bear a hand—go ahead—and play your part bravely"—all will be well. And how can it be otherwise, under so glorious a leader? We must and will march to victory, in November, 1844, and erecting the Clay standard at the Federal city, leave it there to wave its ample folds in triumph, O'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave!"

Several gentlemen were now loudly called on to address the convention, but none of them being present. Gen. Patterson rose and said, that he wished to offer a resolution to the Convention, embodying a just tribute to deserved merit—a resolution which he felt

confident would be responded to with hearty zeal by every member of that body. The resolution was as follows: Resolved, That this Convention approve the patriotic course pursued by the retiring members of the late Cabinet, in relinquishing the important offices held by them, so soon as they discovered that they could no longer retain their stations either with honor to themselves or usefulness to the country; and that the distinguished reputation acquired by our esteemed fellow citizen, GEORGE E. BADGER, during the brief period of his services as Secretary of the Navy, has but endeared him more and more to the people of North Carolina, and has secured to himself a renown as imperishable as the Naval history of his country.

The resolution was unanimously adopted. On motion of Paul C. Cameron, esq., Resolved, That a Central Committee, to represent the Whig party of the state, to consist of twenty-one persons, be now appointed by the President.

After some consultation, the President announced the following

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.
Charles Manly, Thomas Hicks,
John Ligon, Richard Hines,
E. B. Freeman, John W. Harris,
Willie J. Fuller, G. W. Haywood,
George E. Badger, H. W. Montague,
A. J. Foster, Thomas J. Lemay,
Wesley R. Gales, Johnston Busbee,
Henry W. Miller, R. W. Haywood,
Stephen Stevenson, James Litchford,
John H. Bryan, Alfred Jones,
Saml. F. Patterson.

Mr. J. Collinsburg Burgwin laid a resolution on the secretary's table, which, he said, he would call up at the proper time.

Here calls were made on various gentlemen for speeches, but no one rising. Mr. Cherry, of Bertie, said he was all the way from the Swamps, and didn't get to Raleigh often; but he had heard a good deal to-day, about a certain Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, and he understood that there was in the House a gentleman from that part of the country, one Mr. Barringer, he believed they called him, and he wanted to hear some news from that quarter.

Mr. BARRINGER, thus appealed to, rose but with evident reluctance, and remarked that he had not the remotest idea of saying a word in the Convention, and of course, was wholly unprepared. But, said Mr. B., I never have, in my whole life, refused to answer to a Whig call, nor will I now. I feel under obligations to my friend from Bertie, and to the Convention, for the compliment implied by the call, but now that I am up, what shall I say? There is nothing left me to talk about. The Whigs, I hope sir, are all well informed as to the principles of our faith, and alive to the importance of earnestly enforcing them. There are some things, however, which have been done here to-day, that are legitimate subjects of hearty congratulation to us all. Yes sir, the proud stand we have here assumed as the representatives of the Old North State—so much like that taken in Mecklenburg county in 1775, and so eloquently referred to on this floor—a stand which has made our people memorable from that time to this—is an event on which I may be allowed to congratulate every true Whig. Sir, who talks of despondency? There may have been a smothered indignation in our bosoms, when we had a right to expect better things; but there has been no despondency, nor, as is well remarked in the report, adopted with so much unanimity here to-day, Whigs are forbidden, by their very principles, to despair. He would not denounce John Tyler, but would only say, that whatever hopes may have been hitherto entertained of his aiding in the advancement of Whig principles, are now all dissipated. They had, this day, torn down his tattered flag, and no longer looked upon his administration as a Whig administration, or held themselves responsible for its acts. We have run up in its place, said Mr. B., the white flag of HENRY CLAY—that man who has rendered more service to his country, and received less in return, than any American living. Yes sir, during the last war, his trumpet-tongued eloquence was worth more than a thousand guns to the cause of freedom. He it was, too, as had been truly said by the gentleman from Bertie, who settled the Missouri and Tariff questions, when the Union was shaken to its centre. Under his banner we cannot but fight successfully, and he was proud, indeed, that the Old North State had been the first to "fling it to the wild winds free." We gave, in 1840, the first staggering blow to Loco Focoism. Yes sir, whatever may be said by those who affect to look down upon North Carolina, it was the moral influence which her example exerted, that secured the election of Harrison. Our August election turned back the tide of Van Buren successes, carried dismay into their camp, and confidence into ours. The Whigs are as strong now, as they were then. Our arms may have become a little rusty, but from this day forward, they will become brighter and brighter, until our flag waves in triumph over the Capitol of the Union.

I must congratulate you also, Mr. President, continued Mr. B., upon the glorious turn-out at this Convention. You know sir, how busy a time it is with the Farmers of the country, and that it is the most unpropitious season of the year for them to leave their homes. And I must congratulate you, too, upon the unparalleled harmony which has attended all our deliberations. It does not become me, sir, perhaps, to contrast our union with the discord of the late Loco Foco Convention, the proceedings of which I witnessed, and I will not; but I cannot restrain an expression of gratification at the undivided front we have presented on every question. We must go on conquering and to conquer. Yes, sir, just as sure as blossoms come in the spring, just as sure will be our victory in August next.

I may congratulate you too, sir, on the present charming weather. It really seems as if the smiles of Providence were upon us. Why, sir, in January, when the Loco Foco Convention met, it was the very worst weather ever seen. It did every thing, he believed, but *thunder*, and that is very unusual in the winter time. And this, Mr. B. said, reminded him of an anecdote, which, with the permission of the Convention, he would relate. An old friend of his in the mountains, a man of vigorous intellect and iron constitution, who was in the habit of making stump speeches during the great contest of 1840, having been at several Whig meetings where the weather was uncommonly fine, and at several Loco Foco gatherings, where it rained very hard, commenced one of his harangues thus:—

"Brethren, you cannot but perceive that the smiles of Providence are on the Whigs. At such a place, and such a place, (mentioning the Whig meetings) we had beautiful weather; but at such a place, and such a place, (mentioning the Loco Foco meetings) Providence frowned, and the rain fell in torrents. Brethren, this is ominous!" So, said Mr. B., if we draw inferences from the weather, the signs are most ominous for our opponents.

I will make one more remark, Mr. President. One of the most valuable results of Conventions, like this, is to bring together those who, by natural obstacles, are too far apart, and we have the pleasure of communing together. We have heard to-day, sir, assurances of what the East will do in the coming election; let me say a word for the West. Your experience shows, Mr. President, that the battle-cry is always sounded loudest in that part of the state. It is true we have been somewhat mortified in the West, at the political aspect of affairs; but when our friends come to learn, that HARRY or THE WEST—always their first choice—is in the field and on our banner, they will rally as they did in 1840. And what we did then, the whole country knows. We did not count our majorities by fifties, nor by hundreds, but by thousands, and we will do so again. All we need is for every member of this Convention to go home and do his duty. Let every staunch, old-fashioned Whig—every son of the old North State—give the long pull, and the strong pull, urged by the eloquent gentleman from Wake, and all will be well.

Loud calls were here made for Charles Manly, esq. That gentleman rose and said, that having nothing to say, he thought it best to say nothing. When a boy, and under the charge of a Presbyterian Clergyman, who was engaged in "teaching young ideas how to shoot," he had one lesson impressed upon him, which he should never forget. "Be sure never to begin, until you have something to say, and always leave off when you are done." Now, said Mr. M., this is applicable, I think, to our Convention. We begun when we had something to say, and that having been well said by others, we have done all that it becomes us to do. The best motion that could be made, as it was getting late, would be, he thought, to adjourn, but he would not make it.

Mr. Burgwin called up his resolution, which was read as follows: Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be tendered to the President, and other officers, for the able and satisfactory manner in which they have discharged their duties.

The question on the adoption of the resolution, having been put to the Convention by the Secretary, it was unanimously adopted.

The President (Gen. Dockery) rose to return his thanks. He barely wished to remark, as an evidence of the high sense which he entertained of the honor conferred upon him by the Convention, that though for more than twenty years, he had been laboring to accumulate something for his children, the richest legacy he should be able to bequeath them, would be the distinguished honor of having presided over a Convention, at which John M. Morehead was nominated for Governor, and Harry of the West, for the Presidency. In conclusion, he would bid his brother delegates an affectionate adieu, recommending union, energy and perseverance. The Convention was then adjourned sine die.

Whiskey—New whiskey is selling at Cincinnati at eleven cents per gallon, and dull at that.

Chinrees have changed G Nov 2/1928—Right, Rotten Salt selling at \$1.00 a short. Quant. Dec 13, 1738 4

5-5-1847 BUT I WENT HIGHER! 19.30 5/1847

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Debate in the Senate

SECOND PART OF

Mr. Clay, of Kentucky,

On the Resolutions offered by him proposing to retrench the expenditures of the Government, and to regulate the duties on imports, &c.

March 22, 1842.

Mr. CLAY rose to address the Senate, and observed that, although his health had not so far improved as he had hoped, and he still felt his bodily strength enfeebled, still, after the indulgent kindness shown him by the Senate yesterday in the postponement of the debate, for which he now returned his most grateful acknowledgments, he could not think of trespassing further on their forbearance, and would therefore endeavor to huddle on as well as he could, in reply to the arguments advanced by gentlemen on the other side, taking care to consume as little as he could of the time of the Senate.

He had been grieved from the necessity of saying much that he had intended, by the very able arguments of his friends who had preceded him, and he hoped that, without any unjust discrimination, he might particularize those of his friend near him, (Mr. Evans,) the Chairman of the Finance Committee, whose able speech on the present occasion went to demonstrate the correctness of the opinion, expressed in advance by Mr. C., that if elevated to that high and responsible position he would prove himself fully equal to its duties, and would discharge them in a manner conducive to his own honor and the advantage of the country.

In considering the various topics advanced by gentlemen opposed to the resolutions he had had the honor to submit, the first which would demand his notice was the objection brought forward by the Senator from South Carolina, that they necessarily involved a violation of the compromise act. That gentleman thought that that important act would be violated in several most important particulars. His object would be to show that, according to Mr. C.'s understanding of that act, as well from contemporaneous interpretations of it, and from the concomitant circumstances, as from the terms of the law itself, the resolution objected to implied no violation of its provisions whatever—none.

But, before he proceeded to do this, he must be allowed to say that he had himself never attributed to the compromise act such an absolute and sacred inviolability as would forbid the least interference with its enactments, under any circumstances, however urgent or extreme. The utmost amount of his convictions on that subject was, that it was to be viewed as an act entitled to great respect, from the exigencies of the times in which it had been adopted, and the important effect it had had in allaying a very alarming degree of excitement in supposititious sections of the Union; and Mr. C. was happy to find that some gentlemen, formerly its bitterest enemies, had now become its warm friends. If he was not mistaken, the Senator from New York on the left (Mr. Wright) had more than once declared that he felt himself entirely absolved from all obligation to regard it in arranging any financial measures which the state of the country might seem to demand.

[Mr. Wright explained, and said that the declaration he had made was, that he felt himself more bound by that than by any other law.]

Mr. CLAY. Ah! But I find that he now proposes expressly, in the amendments he has offered to my resolutions, that in laying down a rule for the supplying of the Treasury with the requisite means to carry on the Government, regard is to be had to the stipulations in the compromise act.

The Senator from South Carolina prefaced the enumeration of his objections to the resolutions submitted by me with declaring that they violated that act; and he said that it was perfectly well known that he never would have consented to the act but for the conviction that it involved a complete abandonment of the protective policy of the country. Now Mr. C. must say, in reply to this, that, for one, he knew no such thing; but, on the contrary, he knew directly the reverse. It did not abandon the protective policy; far from it; it embodied the principle of protection, although it modified and restrained it. It embraced the provision of a home valuation of our imports, which was avowedly placed there for the protection of the manufacturers, and it was part and parcel of the protective system. In regard to that measure Mr. C. could not agree with his friend from Maine (Mr. Evans) in the opinion that it would operate, practically, to diminish the amount of the revenue. He admitted that it would lessen the amount of imports; but not in a degree to counteract the benefit derived from the augmentation it would effect in the rate of duties received. To one who should take a mere superficial view of the subject, it might appear to be a matter of course that a diminution of imports involved a proportional diminution of revenue; and so there would be, if the duties remained the same; but more than a compensation might be found in the increased rate of duties. Be this as it might, the home valuation clause was not the only point in which the compromise act recognized and actually embodied the doctrine of protection. It required also the payment of duties in cash; which was always a favorite point with the friends of the manufacturers and the advocates of protection. And, still more, the act prescribed a long list of articles which were to remain free of duty after the 30th June, 1842, which provision had been inserted expressly for the benefit of the interests

of the manufacturers. Here, then, in three several particulars, all of them highly important, the principle of protection was confessedly, and of deliberate design, engrafted in the compromise bill. So far from its involving an abandonment of that principle, it would have been utterly impossible, as the Senator must know, to have carried the bill through Congress with such an avowal from its friends: it was very true that the act did modify the protective policy; but, in that modified form, it recognized, proclaimed, and perpetuated that policy.

What were the instances on which the Senator dwelt in contending that these resolutions violate that act?

1. That they went to enlarge the list of free articles.

2. That nothing was done at the extra session to effect a retrenchment of the public expenditures; and

3. That the resolutions contemplate the raising of duties on imports beyond twenty per cent.

On each of these points he (Mr. Clay) would now endeavor to satisfy the Senate that the objections were wholly void of foundation.

The first ground of objection was, that if these resolutions were adopted the list of free articles must be enlarged. And in reply to Mr. C. would enter into a brief exposition of the various provisions of the compromise act.

There are two periods of time referred to in that act in regard to the imposition of duties, viz: the period previous to the 30th June, 1842, and the period after that day. The first section of the act reduces the duties exceeding twenty per cent. down to twenty per cent. by a specified scale, and by the 30th June, 1842; but it does not touch articles subject to a duty of less than twenty per cent. In regard to these it makes no arrangement whatever. In reply to the idea which is entertained by some persons and which has been strenuously insisted on here, that the act inflexibly determines that a duty of twenty per cent. shall be forever levied and invariably maintained under any circumstances whatever, however unjust or imperative they may be, let me suppose a case.

Let me suppose that a state of things shall arise in the country in which, under an economical administration of the Government, duties of less than twenty per cent. would suffice: that twenty per cent. would be a rate of duty too high, and, if imposed, would bring a surplus of revenue into the Treasury. Does any gentleman doubt that under such circumstances we might reduce the rate below twenty per cent. without violating the compromise? None can doubt it for a moment. All the first section does is to reduce all duties which are above twenty per cent. down to that standard. What shall be done afterward, is a question submitted to the wisdom and discretion of Congress.

One of the resolutions I have offered declares that it was assumed at the time of the passage of the act that twenty per cent. would be sufficient to produce revenue enough to provide for an economical administration of the Government; but the distinguished Senator from New York (Mr. Wright) has said that he knew of no such assumption, and he thinks that he finds a very plain inference to the contrary from the words of the last section of the act, where it declares that nothing therein contained shall be so construed as "to prevent the passage of any act, prior to the 30th June, 1842, in the contingency either of excess or deficiency of revenue, altering the rate of duties on articles which by the aforesaid act of the 14th day of July, 1832, are subject to a less rate of duty than twenty per cent. ad valorem, in such manner as not to exceed that rate, and so as to adjust the revenue to either of the said contingencies." But that clause, whilst it anticipated and provided for the possibility of an excess or diminution of revenue, does not touch at all the protected articles, but is exclusively limited to free or unprotected articles. The assumption to which I allude, in the resolution, is to be found in the contemporaneous history of the act, and is embodied in the last clause of the fifth section, which provides that "all imports on which the first section of this act may operate, and all articles now admitted to entry, free of duty, or paying a less rate of duty than twenty per cent. ad valorem, before the said 30th day of June, 1842, from and after that day may be admitted to entry subject to such duty, not exceeding twenty per cent. ad valorem, as may be provided for by law."

I admit that if the case stood alone on this fifth section of the law, it would establish an absolute limitation of the duty to twenty per cent. Here is power, however, left to Congress to discriminate in all duties under twenty per cent. as in its wisdom it may see fit; but, assuming that with a general duty of twenty per cent. on all articles, revenue sufficient might be obtained to provide for a just and economical administration of the Government, it must not go beyond that rate. And such is the fair and natural inference from the language employed in this part of the law; and did we rest on that section only, I should be disposed to concede that we could in no case exceed that limit. But we do not rest solely on that section. It is the third section of the act to which we refer for the general rule which is to govern Congress in the imposition of duties. And, looking to that section, I say that there is not only nothing in the act to prevent Congress from imposing duties beyond twenty per cent., but directly the contrary. After the 30th June next, if necessary, but the Senator from South Carolina alleges a violation of the compromise in an enlargement of the list of free arti-

cles beyond its provisions, which he insists do not authorize any to be admitted free of duty except those to which express reference is made in the fifth section; all others, he contends, are submitted, absolutely and without restriction, to the inflexible rule of twenty per cent.

But from what quarter does this objection proceed? From South Carolina? Yes, from that Senator who, with his friends, when it was proposed to lay a duty on tea and coffee, at the extra session, insisted that they should be admitted free of duty; therein doing that very thing which he now charges on us as a violation of the compromise act. Do not all the members of the Senate also recollect the earnest and successful appeal which he addressed to me to let in jewelry, and similar other articles of small bulk and great comparative value, at a duty of twelve and a half per cent.? I had, before that, been disposed to subject them to the general rule with other commodities, but on the pressing appeal of the Senator, who was so anxious then to discriminate, I changed my purpose and voted with him.

[Mr. Wright here reminded Mr. C. that those articles had been originally subject only to twelve and a half per cent.]

Mr. CLAY. Very true; they had been. But my argument is to show that the Senator himself was in favor of a duty less than twenty per cent., thereby acting on the assumption that Congress, in providing a revenue, may discriminate. As to the existence of such a power, can any man doubt it when he looks at the language employed in both the first and sixth sections? What says the law? In the first, duties wherever they exceed twenty per cent. are to be brought down to a rate so as they shall not exceed that rate; but if they were anywhere under it, or altogether free, the prescribed limit would not be transcended. So, by the fifth section, all articles whatever, protected and free, were to be subject to such rate of duty as Congress might impose not exceeding twenty per cent. Manifestly implying a power of discrimination below that rate.

Well, I have already said that if we rested on this fifth section alone, we could not in any circumstances go over twenty per cent.; but we are not to be governed by that section alone. The whole act and all its parts are to be taken together, and a just interpretation deduced from the entire act.

The great difficulty, when we passed the act, was to get rid of the large amount of surplus revenue which then pressed as an incubus on the Treasury, and threatened such dangerous consequences to the public prosperity. Besides the list of free articles prescribed in the act of 1832, and which are referred to in the 4th section, there is given in that 4th section another list of important articles, such as linens of all kinds, cambrics, worsted stuffs, goods, shawls and other manufactures of silk, &c.

Here is a list of various and numerous articles, which, if taxed, would yield a large amount of revenue. The act operated only on such commodities as were over 20 per cent.; they were all brought down to 20 per cent. by the 30th of June next; but those under 20 per cent. were not touched at all. Previously, then, to the 30th of June, these were liable to duty, to be put on or taken off, according as there should be a deficit or an excess of revenue; but, after the 30th of June, the whole were thrown open to the action of Congress, with two restrictions only—the first, that as a general rule the duty should be a fixed *ad valorem*, and secondly, that no more duty should be imposed than might be sufficient to provide for an economical administration of the Government.

The 5th section of the law, as I have already observed, was not that on which, exclusively, Congress must rely to ascertain the extent and limitation of its power; it is the 3d section which proclaims a sort of manifesto or general declaration as to the great objects intended by the law. That section is the true key to the whole act, and what is its language? "That until the 30th day of June, 1842, the duties imposed by existing laws, as modified by this act, shall remain and continue to be collected. And from and after the day last aforesaid all duties upon imports shall be collected in ready money; and all duties now allowed by law in the payment of duties shall be, and hereby are, abolished; and such duties shall be laid for the purpose of raising such revenue as may be necessary to an economical administration of the Government; and from and after the day last aforesaid the duties required to be paid by law on goods, wares, and merchandise, shall be assessed upon the value thereof at the port where the same shall be entered, under such regulations as may be prescribed by law."

Now, I contend that the fair interpretation of this rule is, that on the 30th of June, 1842, we must adhere to the two restrictions I have named, and to these only, viz: to impose a general *ad valorem* duty, with as few exceptions as practicable, and to impose no more than is indispensable to an economical administration of the Government. We must admit, after that day, the articles enumerated in the 5th section free of duty; but in regard to all other commodities we may admit them free or not, just as in our judgment the interests of the country shall demand.

As to the next objection urged by the honorable Senator, and which was derived from the land distribution bill, I undertake to prove, as by *exemplum* evidence, as by the language of the record itself, that the avails of the public lands never were intended to enter into the exchequer as a part of the ordinary revenue of the Government. On that point I shall have

occasion to say something more hereafter, in reply to the argument of the Senator from New York. (Mr. Wright,) but I shall content myself at present with endeavoring to show that, so far from the distribution bill being a violation of the compromise, the compromise would have been violated if the land fund had been retained as a part of the revenue for annual disbursements.

I said that I had proof extraneous to the record; and I will now state the facts to which I refer. At the moment the compromise bill was introduced into Congress, the same humble individual now addressing you, who presented that bill, reported also, the bill to distribute among the states the proceeds of the public lands; both were pending together, and were expected to pass about the same time. So confident were we all that the distribution bill, with a single amendment to the Executive, that none but those who were in the President's most secret confidence entertained a doubt on the subject. The money which the lands would yield was to be applied for purposes of internal improvement, education, and colonization. In that shape the bill was originally drawn, and in that shape it passed the Senate. While it was in the House I received various messages from its friends to consent to strike out that restriction, accompanied with the assurance that if that restriction was stricken out General Jackson would sign the bill; but, if not, that it would inevitably be vetoed; and I had reason to believe that the form of the veto message was actually prepared in reference to that restriction upon the power of the states. For a long time I held out against all remonstrances, and insisted on retaining the restriction; but, perceiving the danger of the bill, I finally yielded. It was returned from the House with that amendment, and the Senate concurred. After this amendment had been made, and while the distribution and the compromise bills were moving through Congress *pari passu*, the same person being the author of both, the language in the compromise act on which I am commenting was employed, and in that shape the bill passed both Houses, and both were sent to the President; but the compromise bill only was signed, the land bill having been virtually negatived.

And now let me again call the attention of the Senate to the express language of the third section. It declares that, after the 30th June, 1842, "such duties shall be laid for the purpose of raising such revenue as may be necessary to an economical administration of the Government."

Can any thing be more explicit? Can words be employed more completely exclusive of all resort to the land resource for revenue? The Government was to be "economically administered." Yes, and how? By means of such duties only as might be necessary for that purpose. Does not this completely exclude all resort to the public lands? The author of the one bill was the author of the other; the same individual who drew up the land distribution bill drew up also this third section of the compromise act. And can there be any doubt as to the intention, in both, that the Government should rely solely and exclusively on duties from the customs, and not on the proceeds of the public lands?

[Mr. Wright here interposed, and, as he desired to discharge himself from the necessity of making any reply, he would beg to remind the honorable Senator that the distribution bill was limited in its duration to five years.]

Mr. CLAY. Very true, it was so limited—in form, to be sure, the bill was restricted to five years; but throughout the entire discussion it was treated on all sides as being, in substance, a permanent, definite, and final disposition of the subject; because every body concluded it would be re-enacted from time to time as its limitation expired. It was so treated in argument by every gentleman who spoke to the bill on either side. There was also another limitation to the contingency of the occurrence of a war. War must always bring along with it its own laws necessities. During its continuance it may be indispensable to put in requisition the whole resources of the country. And the land (and the compromise act itself) would both yield to those necessities.

I will now pass to another objection urged by the Senator from South Carolina. It was that no retrenchment of expenditures was made at the extra session; or, in other words, that an "economical administration of the Government" has not yet been obtained.

But first let me stop a moment to inquire whence this objection proceeds. The Senators from New York, and from South Carolina, all united in urging and insisting on it, and they vied with each other in imputing wastefulness and extravagance to the existing Administration. And if the charge were well founded, could it come with grace from such a quarter? The Senator from South Carolina, in 1837, abandoned his political friends and went over to their opponents, with whom he has ever since remained in close alliance. And now who is it that reproaches us with prodigal expenditure? The friend and advocate of an Administration which expended annually during the four years of its continuance an average gross sum of thirty-five millions of dollars; which seized on every available resource within its grasp to supply its necessities, which during its whole term, exceeded its income, as is now confessed, by an average balance of eight millions; which, when it discovered that the annual income was far short of the annual expenditure, failed for the space of four years to provide an adequate revenue;

and which left us an empty and impoverished Treasury, and a tariff descended or shuddering to zero? Is it from the friends of such an Administration that reproaches should come on the subject of economy? And, after all this vast and prodigious expenditure of money, where are the national monuments which they have left behind them? It has been sunk in the mazes of Florida, or worse than wasted by the transfer of Indian tribes from one side of a river to the other, and by locating them in the immediate vicinity of our frontier settlements, creating the cause for new expenditures for the defence of our citizens and the monuments of all this expenditure? What has the nation got to show for its money? You expended \$5 millions a year for four years; and yet it was you who put down the Administration of Mr. Adams for its extravagance, which expended but thirteen millions! Gentlemen have disputed the gross amount, but I speak from official papers. They have gone into a laborious examination of the account, and after all their windowing and sifting, they have been compelled to confess to an annual expenditure of twenty-eight millions. And yet gentlemen who had the Government for years, after spending all they could lay their hands on, and leaving us an empty Treasury, without any provision whatever to replenish it, come here and reproach a new Administration, not in power a single year, for not having effected a general system of retrenchment! Gentlemen who, instead of funds, left us a large debt, and who violate all decency and propriety in taunting us with loans, the necessity for which they are the real authors of! I say, then, if the charge were just, and the papers proved it, still it would come with a very ill grace from such a quarter. Retrenchment! Why did not the Senator from New Hampshire and the Senator from New York effect the retrenchment for which they now profess such patriotic solicitude when one was at the head of the Treasury and the other at the head of the Committee on Finance? What were they doing all the while they held the control of the whole fiscal means of the Government? The Senator from New Hampshire tells us that he did, at last, wake up, [a laugh,] and was very desirous of effecting a reform in the year 1840. But let us look a little into the circumstances under which the honorable gentleman felt this sudden zeal for reform. What were they? This whole land, from one end of it to the other, was filled with a general outcry against the wasteful extravagance of his Administration. A Presidential election was approaching, moreover, and it was particularly important that fair and moderate accounts should be made up for the inspection of the people. Under all these powerful motives to action, what was accomplished by the united labors of the Administration, backed as they were by the Senator from New Hampshire and the Senator from New York? He tells us, with exultation, that he reduced the expenditures of that year to \$22,500,000. And how did he do it? The fact was admitted by my friend from Maine, (Mr. Evans,) but he did not call the attention of the Senate to the different laws by which it was done. By a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, dated 31 September, 1840, after the annual appropriations had been made by Congress for the public service, it appears that he came, not to Congress, but to the Committee of Ways and Means, and asked them to postpone enough of what had been actually appropriated as indispensable for the service of the year, to avoid the creation of a deficit in the Treasury. They had expended all their means, wasted and lavished away all the public money that they could get into their possession, and still apprehending a deficiency if the public wants were provided for, he comes and begs for a temporary postponement of upwards of two millions of dollars; and the President was accordingly authorized to postpone the expenditure of \$2,200,000 of the regular annual appropriations. It is easy to see how the expenditures were reduced; it was by the most extraordinary expedient that ever was resorted to, and such as the records of no other Government on earth can show—an expedient which I hope will never be resorted to again. The appropriating power entrusted to Congress by the Constitution had been regularly exerted; the annual appropriation in conformity to estimates from the Executive department, had been discussed and agreed upon; and then, a power new and unknown, a dispensing power, was put into the hands of the President to set aside at his discretion the action of the laws. [Here Mr. Clay read from the acts of 1840 the extraordinary authority vested in the President of the U. S. to postpone large appropriations just made for the military service and for fortifications, if the exigencies of the Treasury required it.] Thus it is seen that the boasted reduction of the expenditure to twenty-two and a half millions was effected not by any real retrenchment, but by a postponement of objects of high national importance—a postponement which devolved on the new Administration the performance of public duties which had been shamefully neglected by their predecessors. And this very burden, so cast upon the present Administration, is the pretext for a charge of an extraordinary amount of appropriations for the year 1841.

The honorable cause for the postponement, among other things, was assigned to be an apprehension that the United States Bank of Pennsylvania might not pay its debt to Government; but there had been and was in fact no failure on the part of that institution to meet all her engagements to Government; for, with all the sums that rest upon her, and Heaven knows there are enough of them, she owes

this Government nothing, unless it be the amount of damages on the postponed bills, which claim is still in dispute. Yet the President is authorized to suspend all the appropriations for the erection of barracks, for the manufacture of arms, for the completion of fortifications, and for the purchase of ordnance and military stores! What amount was actually postponed? I am not able to say, but as the total amount is stated at \$3,000,000, I suppose he went to the full extent of his authority.

[Mr. Woodbury. The State banks have not paid all they owe the Government to this day.]

Mr. CLAY. Ay, and how much is it they owe?

Mr. Woodbury. One hundred thousand dollars. A laugh.]

Mr. CLAY. Ah! This money appropriated was not to be paid till November or December, and so the articles were selected which could best bear to be postponed. The amount of \$1,600,000 which should have been expended in August was postponed by the Executive prerogative till November, but the Administration knew that the season would then be so late that the contracts could not and would not be made.

It comes after all to this: that \$2,200,000 might be postponed; that the United States Bank of Pennsylvania did pay up all its debt; and that still the expenditure of the money was put off to a period so late as rendered it certain that it could not be made use of during that fiscal year. If the \$1,600,000 postponed be added to the Senator's estimate of twenty-two and a half millions of actual expenditures, the so much vaunted retrenchment of the Senator and his Administration during the year 1840, when so many powerful motives combined to make a show to the People of a decent regard to frugality, brought the public expenditure down only to about twenty-four millions, including the postponed appropriations.

And what is the present complaint? That we, who have had hardly time to turn round, and who have every thing to repair and reform, have not actually brought the public expenditures down far below the lowest year when they had the charge of the government. Out of power, they are the greatest economists in the world; none can vie with them in saving the money of the People. In power, profuse expenditure and wasteful extravagance characterize their Administration. The late administration came in as an economical, reforming, retrenching Administration; and during its last four years, in the prosecution of its schemes of economy and reform, it carried the public expenditure down only from thirteen to thirty-five millions per annum! Restore them to power to-morrow, and we should see revived the same exact conformity of precept with practice. And now its friends, old and new, come here and reproach us because, whilst the work of reformation has been commenced and at this moment is in actual progress, we have not suddenly, at one dash, reduced the public expenditure below twenty-two millions. Is not what is proposed in the series of resolutions less by six millions than the admitted, acknowledged, incontestable average amount of their own? Is it not less by two millions than what would have been expended by that Administration in its boasted year of frugality, but for the postponement of what should have been applied to the public service? Such a reduction, so soon made, under circumstances of such great embarrassment, if effected, must be allowed to be very large and highly encouraging. I should think that it would give a pledge for future economy that might be sufficient to satisfy every reasonable mind.

The Senator from New Hampshire objected to our course in these resolutions, because the work of retrenchment did not precede the fixation and provision of an adequate revenue. But how could more have been now done than is proposed? Give the Senator carte blanche—make him dictator—and how would he do it? He could not. We must take the Government as we find it, estimate the probable amount of expenditure to keep the machine in fair and full motion—and go on with the work of retrenchment in all the branches of the service carefully, circumspectly, slowly, but wisely. It is our duty to take care in applying the knife not to destroy essential parts of the necessary machinery of Government. In the case of the New York custom-house, for example, how could any one tell what part of the appropriation could be spared until the state of the facts had been examined? Or, take the judiciary or the foreign service, or the Indian department—take the army—the navy—any branch you please of the public service, and the same cautious and deliberate examination should be made before you lop off unnecessary offices and expenditure. The only way is, to name a sum down to which we hope to be able to bring the public expenditure, and then to go lower, if we find it practicable on a full examination and a prudent survey of all the facts.

And now, I have not only shown from what quarter the charge of extravagance proceeds, what was their own expenditure when entrusted with power, and that our very first proposal is to reduce the amount \$3,000,000 below what is confessed by prominent supporters of the preceding Administration to have been spent by Mr. Van Buren's Administration—I have not only shown this, but it is undeniable that many of the expenses which swelled so enormously their account might well have been avoided. But I now ask to whose reduced amount of our expenditures is to be applied? For the defence of the country at a time when, in the opinion of

many, their exiles lamented death of a foreign war.

And here, though it does not strictly belong to the subject, I embrace the opportunity of expressing my views as to the posture of our affairs with Great Britain.

I have regretted, to every honor, life and patriotic mind must have done, the vile and opprobrious attacks made, in advance, on the distinguished individual who chooses to our shores bearing the olive branch of peace. Who does not feel that such shameful abuse of a stranger invested with a sacred diplomatic character, and coming on an errand so friendly and pacific, is most disgraceful to those who seek thus to throw, beforehand, his efforts for amicable adjustment of national differences and the establishment of a mutual good understanding—that it is gratuitous, inhospitable, untimely, and in the highest degree libelous? Of Lord Ashburton, with whom I have enjoyed the satisfaction of a personal and friendly acquaintance, I will say that I believe there are but few, if any, men in England his superiors in honor, probity, and practical wisdom. And in regard to the banking house with which his name and some of his family have been associated, and which has been referred to with so much malignity, he has himself, I believe, had no personal connection with that institution for near twenty years past. And I must here express my earnest hope that, however the decencies of life and the obligations and duties of hospitality may have been violated by a licentious press, the great mass of the American People will welcome him with cordiality as an ambassador of peace. As to the points of difference with his Government, I believe that they are not likely to lead to a rupture, if the friendly spirit and the ability are thrown into their consideration which I hope will be employed. What are they? The first and most important is the boundary question. The new Minister will be either charged with some measure of compromise, by a direct settlement of the controversy, without the intervention of an arbitrator, or he will be instructed to bring to a conclusion the pending negotiation for reference of the dispute to an arbitrator. In the first contingency, if the overture is acceptable and accepted, the difficulty will be terminated. But, if he is empowered to make no such overture, or if it is unacceptable, the parties will naturally fall back upon the arbitration, which has been already substantially agreed upon, and conclude a convention for a final and definitive arrangement of the dispute. And whatever may be the decision of the arbitrator, it must be executed and acquiesced in by both parties. In no event, then, is that affair likely to lead to hostilities.

Then there is the case of the Caroline. No doubt the seizure and destruction of that vessel involved a direct violation of our territorial jurisdiction, and full explanation and indemnity ought to be made by Great Britain. But it was a wrong not absolutely without any provocation. There were plausible palliatives, in any the least; and I suppose no considerate man would say that the occurrence was of sufficient magnitude to bring down on two such nations as the United States and Great Britain the calamity of war.

In the third place we have the Creole case; in respect to which I think Great Britain is in the wrong, and stands bound to make full indemnity for the value of the slaves. Although it is true that, in the absence of all stipulations by treaty, one nation is not bound, in strict right, to surrender offenders and fugitives from justice who take refuge within its dominions, she has no right to afford facilities to escape by liberating and discharging persons under a foreign flag. But this is a matter for negotiation, and negotiation has hardly yet begun. It should be left under the conduct of the constitutional organ. It was premature. We are, perhaps, too prone to promulgate the instructions given to our foreign minister. In the present stage of the question, if in any probable aspect of it, no immediate cause is discernible of disturbing the peace between the two countries.

What else remains? There is the question of the Right of Search—the right of visitation, the right of verification of the national character of the vessel, or by whatever other name it should be called. This should not be confounded with the right of search claimed and exercised by Great Britain, according to which, in time of war, British cruisers entered our vessels and seized enemy's goods or persons, and impressed American seamen, under the pretext of their being subjects of Great Britain. This practice, in respect to impressment, can never be tolerated or again allowed, and I presume will be abandoned; but if it should ever be renewed it would be the signal of immediate and inevitable war. As to the present pretension of the right of search in the African seas, I do not understand, from the correspondence between Mr. Stevenson and Lord Palmerston and Aberdeen, that there is the slightest difference, in principle, between the two Governments. Mr. Stevenson admits that the American flag can only lawfully cover and protect American vessels; and that its inequalities cannot be enjoyed by British vessels, by pirates, or by vessels of nations that allow the British search. On the other hand, Lord Palmerston and Aberdeen expressly disclaim any right to search an American vessel, and admit that if a real American vessel is loaded from the deck to the hold with slaves, British cruisers have no right to stop or detain her; but insist that, if the American flag is fraudulently hoisted by a vessel which has no right to visitation, the fraudulent use of our flag, or the possession of sim-

ulated papers, cannot supersede their right.

(To be continued.)

HILLSBOROUGH

Thursday, May 5.

WHIG MEETING.

On Saturday last, agreeably to previous notice, a number of Whigs of the town district met at the court house in Hillsborough. Major Samuel Strayhorn was called to the chair, and Dennis Hearty appointed secretary.

On motion, the following persons were appointed as delegates to the County Convention, to be held on Friday of May Court, viz:

Henry Whitted,	Hugh Waddell,
James Faucett,	Stephen Moore,
Callett Campbell,	Dr. E. Strudwick,
David Hart,	George Laws,
Wm. McCauley,	John W. Norwood,
John Strayhorn,	Dr. James S. Smith,
Andrew Borland,	Dennis Hearty,
P. H. Mangum,	Lemuel Lynch,
Dr. O. F. Long,	Levin Carmichael,
Dr. W. A. Norwood,	Wm. Chambers,
James Mebane, jr.,	Richard Tapp,
John Turner,	Joseph Latta,
Dr. F. Smith,	

On motion, Dr. James S. Smith, and Hugh Waddell and P. H. Mangum, esqrs. were appointed a committee to correspond with Governor Morehead, and invite his attendance here on Friday of May Court, to address the people of Orange.

On motion, ordered, that the proceedings of this meeting be published in the Hillsborough Recorder.

SAMUEL STRAYHORN, Ch'n.
DENNIS HEARTY, Sec'y.

We are indebted to the Hon. Kenneth Rayner for a very interesting report of the committee on manufactures, in relation to a tariff of duties, and domestic manufactures; and also to the Hon. Wm. A. Graham for sundry papers and documents: for which they will please accept our acknowledgements.

HILLSBOROUGH LITERARY ASSOCIATION.

A Lecture was delivered before this Association on Friday evening last, by the Rev. ROBERT BURWELL. It was addressed to young men, and was highly practical in its character. We hope those who heard him will be induced to form their lives after the precepts given, and indeed become "living pillars in the state, and in the temple of our God."

The Division of Orange County.

In pursuance of previous notice, a large and respectable meeting of the citizens of Orange convened at the High Falls, on Saturday the 30th of April, to consider the subject of dividing the county. The Hon. Wm. Montgomery was called on to preside over the deliberations of the meeting, and Col. William Shaw, Dr. Julius Bracken and Giles Mebane, esq. were appointed secretaries. The Chairman nominated Col. Jesse Gant, Gen. Benjamin Trolinger, John Holt, and John Trolinger, esqrs. as a committee to prepare and report measures to be considered and adopted by the meeting.

On motion, Jonathan Gant, esq. and Col. Joseph Holt, delegates from a meeting held on the same subject at Daniel Albright's, esq. and Major John Fogleman and Col. William Patterson, delegates from a similar meeting held at Andrew Albright's, esq. were added to the committee.

This committee, through their chairman John Holt, esq. reported the preamble and resolutions which follow:

Whereas the members of the Legislature before the last from Orange, pledged themselves, while candidates before the people, to use (if elected) their influence to divide the county, and the division has not been yet made; and whereas other portions of the state, laboring under similar but no greater grievances than ours, have had justice granted to them; therefore,

1. Resolved, That we renew and continue our petitions for relief, until our grievances are redressed by a central division of Orange county.

2. Resolved, That while we admit the old court house of the county to be in a bad condition, yet inasmuch as our pockets are in a much worse state, we regard the late attempt to tax the people ten thousand dollars to build a new court house as unjustifiable, and if successful would have been oppressive on the people; and that we solemnly protest against any increase of burthens and taxes at this time, and appeal to those who exercise the taxing power of the county not to double our taxes when the means of payment are diminishing continually.

3. Resolved, That we solemnly appeal to every voter in Orange county, whether in the east, the west, or the centre of the county in sight of the court house, and

especially the war worn soldier of the revolution of three score and ten, who can reach the court house of his county on a summons of the sheriff, or to prove a deed or other paper, only by a journey of thirty or thirty five miles, which going and returning makes a distance of sixty or seventy miles, and that too over rough and rugged roads, through the dust and scorching heat of mid-summer, or the chilling and freezing rains and snows of winter. Finally, we appeal most earnestly to all who are in any way interested, and have power conferred upon them, to help in the removal of our long continued grievances.

4. Resolved, That we enter into no agreement with our opponents on this subject; that they failed to keep an agreement formerly made with them by us, greatly against our interests, when it was agreed to accept a division at the nine mile point, on condition that our opponents would not oppose this line of division; but after the bill had passed the House of Commons by a majority of 17 votes, and would, we believe, have passed the Senate certainly had the agreement been honorably kept, instead of being met as it was by counter petitions and special agents, to whose misrepresentations to the Senate we ascribe the defeat of the measure. We therefore now ask an equitable division from the Legislature.

5. Resolved, that we, the voters present, will not support any man who presents himself before us as a candidate for the Legislature, who will not pledge himself publicly, to go, if elected, for a central division of Orange county.

Upon the above preamble and resolutions a discussion arose, which was confined chiefly to the last resolution. Gen. Trolinger, John Holt, esq. and the Hon. Chairman advocated its adoption, and Giles Mebane, esq. in opposition to their views, proposed and supported the following as a substitute for the fifth resolution:

Resolved, That the question of the division of Orange be submitted, through the direction of the County Court, to the people of the county, to be determined at the ballot box at the next August election, and that the question proposed be, *Shall there be a central division?* and that the voters present stand pledged to support no one as a candidate who will not abide by and carry out the will of the majority expressed as above directed.

When the vote was taken 31 voted in favor of the substitute, but the majority voted against it, and the resolution reported by the committee was adopted.

On motion, Col. Shaw and Dr. Bracken were excused from further services as secretaries, and Jacob Hurdle and Col. Joseph Holt were appointed to act in their places.

Col. James Graham moved to amend the 5th resolution as adopted, by adding thereto, "unless instructed specially to vote otherwise by direct vote of the people on the question at the August election."

This amendment was advocated by Col. Graham and Giles Mebane, esq. and opposed by the Chairman and John Holt, esq. and voted down by a large majority.

The preamble and resolutions reported by the committee were then adopted, a very small minority voting in the negative.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the Standard and Recorder.

WM. MONTGOMERY, Ch'n.
JOSEPH HOLT,
JACOB HURDLE, } Secretaries.
GILES MEBANE,

The undersigned having acted as one of the secretaries to the above meeting, and not concurring in its proceedings, desires to circulate co-extensively with said proceedings his own views, which he urges at the time in opposition to the majority. The fifth resolution requires candidates for the Legislature to pledge themselves unconditionally, if elected, to support a division of Orange county. Now it appears to the undersigned that the division of the county is a local question, in which candidates cannot be peculiarly interested more than other citizens of the county, and for them to pledge themselves in advance to a particular vote on the subject without regard to the will of the majority, is to assume an arbitrary and untenable position. Cannot the question be submitted to the free citizens of the county, and voted on and decided by them, as the question of Common Schools was decided by the people of the state? Would it not be more respectful to the people for the candidates to agree to obey their wishes, clearly and specifically expressed at the polls, upon this local question? It appeared most extraordinary to the undersigned, that the Hon. Chairman, Gen. Trolinger, and John Holt, esq. should oppose the principle contained in his resolution and in Col. Graham's amendment, calling for and abiding by specific instruction from those who are most interested in the question, and who have therefore the best right to decide it.

But the argument fairly stated on the other side is, If the candidate come out pledged to vote for a division of the county, and be elected, he is thereby instructed. This would be very true if every other question except the division of the county could be kept out of the election. This cannot be done. How many questions will bear upon the next election in Orange no man can now tell. There are the questions of general and state politics, and many voters support a candidate because they like him as a man; and the candidate when elected very often cannot tell what question contributed most to his success. And as the question of dividing the county will be voted on as a separate and distinct question by the voters at the

next August election, the resolution adopted at the High Falls may place a candidate in this dilemma: He comes out pledged in advance for a division of the county, and is elected. The vote of the people has been taken on the subject, and a majority is against him upon the question. What is he to do, if the Hon. Chairman of the meeting, and those who agree with him, are to establish their doctrine? Why he must obey the resolution passed at the High Falls, and set at defiance the will of the majority and the right of instruction. The undersigned protests against the recognition of such a principle.

GILES MEBANE.
The Raleigh Standard is requested to publish the above remarks with the proceedings of the meeting.

CONGRESS.—In the Senate, on Monday, April 25, petitions were presented from various sections of the country, asking such a revision of the tariff as will afford adequate revenue, and incidental protection to the domestic industry of the country.

The bill to provide for claims arising under the 14th and 19th articles of the treaty of Dancing Rabbit creek, was debated at some length, and then recommitted to the committee on Indian affairs.

On Tuesday, after the presentation of petitions, and reports from committees, the bill to provide farther remedial justice in the courts of the United States, was taken up, and Mr. Berrien addressed the Senate at considerable length, in explanation and support of the objects of the bill. Mr. Choate offered out or two amendments, when the farther consideration of the bill was postponed until Friday.

On Wednesday, Mr. Allen made an effort to call up a resolution submitted by him some days previous, calling on the President for such information as had been brought to his notice connected with the present state of affairs in Rhode Island; but the motion was negatived—yeas 18, nays 20.

The Senate then proceeded to the consideration of private bills.

In the House of Representatives, on Monday, April 25, on motion of Mr. Stanly, the bill heretofore reported from the committee on commerce, to prevent the transportation of passengers or letters coastwise by foreign ships or vessels, was taken up. The committee of the whole, to whom the bill had been referred, was discharged from its farther consideration, and the bill was taken up in the house; and the question being on ordering the bill to a third reading, a debate of some length occurred, after which it was postponed until Thursday.

The apportionment bill was then taken up, in committee of the whole, and a debate occurred, the object of which was to strike out 60,500 as the ratio of representation, and insert a smaller number; but no decision was made when the committee rose.

On Tuesday, the apportionment bill was again taken up in committee of the whole. After considerable discussion, the amendment as proposed by Mr. Briggs prevailed, and 50,179 was inserted—yeas 90, nays 59.

Mr. Halsted, by instruction of the committee on elections, submitted an amendment, requiring the elections in all the states to be by districts. Upon this amendment a debate arose, which was continued until the house adjourned.

On Wednesday, the Hon. Anderson Mitchell, (member elect from the state of North Carolina, vice Lewis Williams, deceased,) appeared, was qualified, and took his seat.

The apportionment bill was again taken up for consideration in committee of the whole, and the debate was continued on the amendment requiring the elections in all the states to be by districts.

Free Negroes in Mississippi.—By an act which was passed at the last session of the Mississippi legislature, every justice in the state is authorized, at the request of a free-holder, to cause every free negro to give security in the sum of one hundred dollars for his good behavior, or to commit him to jail, and after public notice, the sheriff of the county shall sell him. Every negro is forbidden to enter the state; and if one such is found having emigrated into the state under any pretence whatever, any white citizen may cause him to be punished by the sheriff with thirty nine lashes; and if he does not immediately thereafter remove, he is to be sold. Any white person who brings a free negro into the state is liable to a fine not exceeding, for the first offence, five hundred, and for the second, one thousand dollars.

FOREIGN NEWS.

By the arrival of the Steam Ship Great Western at New York, and British unit at Boston, advices from Europe to the 5th inst. are received in this country. It appears that the English army have met with sad disasters in the East. In January, an army of eight or ten thousand men operating in Afghanistan, was over-

powered and nearly all massacred by the natives in an insurgent war carried on by one of the Princes of the country. The English Ambassador, Sir W. M. Russell, had been previously assassinated. The ladies of the embassy were held as hostages. Afghanistan is situated between Persia and Hindostan. The British have become involved in war in that country by interfering in the quarrels of the Native Princes.

Commercial affairs in England, look rather better than they did a while ago, although trade in the manufacturing districts continues in a depressed state. Cotton was dull, and low qualities had declined. The King of France is said to be laboring under the dropsy.

There had been a conspiracy against the government of Belgium. The feeling in Great Britain towards this country, is evidently more pacific than for some time past.

Wilmington Chron.

Obituary.

We have to record the death, on Thursday morning, the 21st ult., of MICHAEL HOLT, esq., aged sixty-four years, one of the most useful magistrates, respectable citizens, and respected gentlemen of this county. This sad event occurred suddenly, and has produced a general gloom among the friends and neighbors of the deceased; for, though his health had not, for some months past, been as good as formerly, yet he was able to give to his business abroad his usual and cheerful attention up to the very evening of the day preceding his demise. Having exposed himself to the weather of that damp day, a spasmodic asthma—to which he had been slightly subject—came on after he went to bed; of which the ravages were so rapid as to make him a corpse before the light of the next day. His sufferings were, of necessity, very great; but he bore them without a murmur, and met his end with perfect consciousness of its approach, and with the patience and trust of a good and a christian man.

Eulogy upon the dead ought not to become a habit. The frailties of our nature predominate so much in most men, that while none are entitled to unqualified encomium, few can claim it in even a moderate degree. Yet the life, mental capacity, and virtues of this gentleman do justify call for some detail beyond the simple announcement, that he is no more. He was no ordinary man either in his mental or moral properties, in his career, his opinions, or successes. He possessed a remarkably deliberate and vigorous understanding, close and steady observation, and great constancy of purpose in carrying out any views he might entertain, and in acting upon his convictions either as to matters of duty, public or private, or as to matters of business. His mind, consequently, became filled with well digested, useful and practical knowledge, particularly in reference to the subjects connected with his occupation. His pursuits were exclusively agricultural; and all his days were spent in the cultivation and improvement of his farms, in which his success was creditable and eminent. Indeed with such capacities and dispositions as have been mentioned, success could not fail to crown his efforts; for it is, generally, in the will of Providence to reward good parts assiduously employed to useful ends, with prosperity. In all respects Mr. Holt received such rewards to a degree commensurate to his modest aims and moderate desires. Although not favored with a liberal education in his youth, yet in mature life he had made up his deficiency by his habits, long continued, of diligent reading, reflection, and conversation; and he was ever a zealous lover of knowledge and promoter of all our institutions for the education of the young, and for the diffusion of light among his fellow men. He became, therefore, early possessed of the respect and good opinions of his fellow citizens, and often represented them in each house of the Legislature. In his intercourse with men he maintained his own opinions with firmness and even zeal; but while he endeavored to disseminate them, he listened with candor to those of others. He had not only charity for error, but real respect for freedom of opinion; and liberally tolerated any doctrines no plainly subversive of sound morals.

In his private affairs and relations he was highly favored. He honorably acquired by his intelligence, industry, and economy, not only a competent, but an affluent property, after dispensing a liberal hospitality through a long life, and educating at the best schools of our country both his male and female children. But it must not be supposed that his efforts were limited merely to the worldly prosperity of himself or his immediate family. He had much kindness of feeling to mankind generally, and many know of unusual benevolence towards those who had but slight claims on him. Moreover, from the elevating employ ment of tilling God's earth, Mr. Holt's mind was raised to the worship of the Creator. He was long a member and worthy communicant of the Lutheran Church.

It has been beautifully and truly said by the author of one of the finest tales that ever was written, that the hero of his piece "united in himself the three greatest characters upon earth; he was a priest, an husbandman and the father of a family." The subject of the present notice was not, indeed, a priest; but he had the principles, and led the life, as he professed the faith, of a pious christian; and he fully came up to the two other characteristics specified. His domestic life was happy, and he was loved by his children and grand children honored him from affection as well as duty; and his neighbors felt that he was their friend and benefactor. As an evidence of the general esti-

mation in which he was held, a large gathering on the day succeeding his death, gathered from many miles around and united in the funeral solemnities; thus, as they returned and respected him in life, mourning his death and reverencing his memory.

TEMPERANCE MEETING.

A convention of the members of the different Temperance Societies throughout the county will be held in this place on the second Saturday in May next, for the purpose of organizing a County Society, which shall become auxiliary to the State Temperance Society, and for agreeing upon some general principles upon which the different Temperance Societies may act efficiently and in concert.

April 30

Whig County Convention.

Agreeably to the resolution adopted at the Whig meeting on the 23d of November last, the Whig Convention will meet in Hillsborough on Friday of May Court (the 27th), for the purpose of selecting candidates to be run on the Whig ticket for the next General Assembly. Those districts in which delegates have not been appointed, are earnestly requested to hold meetings and make such appointments before that time, that a full expression of the sense of the party may be had on that occasion.

A Whig Meeting will be held at Capt. Joseph C. Baron's, on Saturday the 14th of May next, for the purpose of appointing delegates to the Whig Convention to be held at May Court. The citizens generally are requested to attend.

THE MARKETS.

Petersburg, April 26.	
Cotton,	07 a 08
Tobacco—Large,	2 00 a 2 50
Leaf,	2 00 a 5 50
Fayetteville, April 27.	
Flour,	6 00 a 7 25
Salt—(sack),	2 25 a 0 00
(bushel),	60 a 00
Cotton,	5 a 7 1
Beeswax,	27 a 28

Weekly Almanac.

MAY.	Sun rises	Sun sets.	MOON'S PHASES.
5 Thursday,	5 11 6 49		1st 7 30 moon
6 Friday,	5 10 6 50		2nd 10 6 32 moon
7 Saturday,	5 10 6 50		3rd 17 6 54 moon
8 Sunday,	5 9 6 51		4th 24 4 23 moon
9 Monday,	5 8 6 52		
10 Tuesday,	5 7 6 53		
11 Wednesday,	5 6 6 54		

Notice.

A MOTION will be made before the Justices of the Peace at the May Term of our Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, on Thursday, that the Sheriff be instructed to open the polls at the August election and to take the sense of the people upon the question of the Division of Orange County. It is hoped, therefore, that there will be a full bench of justice present. This seems to be the wish of a large portion of the people of the county.

May 4.



WATCHES and Jewellery.

LEMOUEL LYNCH has the pleasure of announcing to his friends and the public generally, that he has received from Philadelphia a new assortment of JEWELLERY, consisting in part of:

Gold and Silver Lever Watches, and plain Verge Watches, Gold guard and fob Keys, Fine Gold Rings, Breast Pins and Earrings, Silver Pencils, and Leads to suit, Silver Thimbles, Gold Hairpins and Crookes, A rich assortment of Silver and Steel Spectacles, to suit all ages, Silver Table and Tea Spoons, Salt Spoons, and Butter Knives, Rogers' superior Knives and Scissors, Silver Ear and Tooth Picks, Money Purse, and Tooth Brushes, Gold Shirt Buttons, Steel and Gilt Watch Keys and Chains, Silk-Braid, and Elastic Guards for Watches, Gold Barrel Lockets, Coral, Gilt Locketts.

Watches and Clocks of all descriptions cleaned and repaired in his accustomed superior style.

May 4.

Notice.

ALL persons indebted to the subscriber, are earnestly requested to call and settle their dues immediately.

May 4.

LEMOUEL LYNCH.

Last Notice.

ALL persons indebted to O. F. LONG & CO., are earnestly requested to come forward and make immediate payment, between this and May Court. Those who fail to attend to this, may expect to be waited upon by an officer without any exception.

April 4.

O. F. LONG & CO.
BLANKS for sale at this Office.

From the Knickerbocker.
THE WAY TO DISMISS MINISTERS.
CHAPTER III.
CASE OF MR. BETTS.

We have said that old Mr. Betts was the minister in what was called the Presbyterian church. He was indeed "old," and had officiated in Stokessville for several years. Like all other men, he had his friends and his enemies. This church, like its neighbor, was subject to periodical revolutions, which sometimes threatened its ruin. Parson Betts was too orthodox to suit some of his members, who declared it "perfect agony" for them to listen to him; and many had absolutely abandoned him, with a view of forming another congregation. Yet the old gentleman preached on. He heeded not the wreck which he at times made, but solaced himself with the conviction that he was in the discharge of christian duty, and that was enough.

It so happened that Mr. Betts on a certain Sabbath preached his sermon rather higher than usual with the "doctrine of election;" and a majority of the congregation were determined to submit to it no longer. Accordingly, he was visited upon the following Monday by several members of his church, who told him that they were sorry to say it, but they should forever hereafter be under the necessity of absenting themselves from his preaching, provided he did not qualify or retract what he had said, in a sermon to be preached on the following Sabbath.

Now it so happened that there was a minority party who subscribed exactly to the doctrine contained in the sermon which had raised such confusion, and were just as hotly opposed to the retraction. They said it was the first sermon they had heard which came entirely up to the standard of their faith; and they would see the church blown in to atoms, before a qualification or retraction should be made. They, too, appointed their committee, and waited upon Mr. Betts, and commanded him not to retract one "for nor title," under fear of their displeasure and consequent desertion of the church.

The old gentleman was in a quandary. He was between Scylla and Charybdis; if he avoided the one he must inevitably be swallowed by the other. He "must qualify or retract," and he must neither qualify nor retract. Finally, as his best plan in the premises, he determined to play for an extension of the time allotted him to determine his course in the matter; and after some correspondence between his Janus-faced opponents, his day of grace was extended to four weeks. On the fourth Sunday he was to "choose whom he would serve."

The war now opened in Stokessville in good earnest. Every family that attended old Mr. Betts' church arrayed itself either on one side or the other. No one was permitted to take neutral ground in the contest. The women were out every afternoon, running up and down the streets, impressing their friends with their various opinions, and drawing in all the converts they could convince by their zeal and eloquence; while the men were warring together on the corners, in the tavern and in the stores.

The first week had passed away, and the excitement was tremendous. On the second, it had engendered so much bitterness between the members of the same church, that all communication was stopped. The retraction party did not speak to, nor trade with the anti-retraction party. Entertainments were given for the sole purpose of manifesting the spirit of exclusiveness; and there was a degree of life and mock-merriment exhibited at Stokessville that had never been paralleled.

When the third week came round, the two parties fell pell-mell to scandalizing each other. First the retraction party assailed one of the deacons who belonged to the anti retraction party. They said he was "a dishonest man, and if justice had been done him, he would have been hanged years ago; that he had been charged with keeping false weights, and thus swindling the public, the widow and the orphan; that he had been known to swear, and that proof could be furnished of the fact; that a great many years ago he charged a relative out of the very property he was now holding; that he had always made difficulty in the church wherever he had been connected with it; and a hundred other allegations were brought against him, and circulated from mouth to mouth, increasing in magnitude as it acquired age and notoriety.

The anti-retraction party were not to be outdone, and they retaliated with double severity. They assailed in turn one of the deacons of the other division, and after charging upon him with the crimes mentioned in the moral and divine law, fell upon other members of the party, and dissected them in like manner. This bitterness was met in the opposite side again, until at last every person's character, who was in any manner connected with the excitement, however unconnected, was completely blackened, and to all appearances forever ruined.

Finally the Sabbath came round when old Mr. Betts was to retract or adhere to the doctrine which had spread such devastation over the church. There was a fearful intensity of feeling on the subject. The house was crowded to overflowing, and eager eyes were directed to the old man as he ascended the pulpit. After the preliminary exercises were gone through with, Mr. Betts arose. He said that it had been his misfortune to differ with a portion of his congregation upon some points of doctrine, and that he had been called upon to make a retraction, and this day had been assigned to him for that purpose.

He said that he was glad that an excitement had been produced in the church by the course he had taken, as it was the first one within his recollection for the last ten years. He had preached against practical sin and wickedness, and it had all passed off harmless; but soon as he touched the faith of his people, they were all on fire. He said it appeared to him that his hearers were determined to save themselves by "faith alone," as he had never been able to discover any very great abundance of good works; and in that particular he differed materially with the course pursued by all his congregation. If he understood the position he was placed in, he said, he must qualify or retract, or half his congregation would desert him, and if he did qualify or retract, the other half would do the same; the two parties differing with each other in point of christian duty, and both differing with him. He said both, and it was in preferring "faith" to "good works," and unless they reformed and walked more uprightly in the path which they had marked out for themselves, he should at once desert them, and leave them to the error of their ways. He should give them four weeks to make up their minds; the same space of time which had been allotted him for a similar purpose. He had no more to say.

These words shivered their way among the congregation like a thunderbolt. All was silence and solemnity. The heart of every one was struck with conscious guilt. The old man proceeded with his discourse as usual, closed, and dismissed his people. And this was the last that was ever heard of the Retraction and Anti-retraction parties, and the last of the HOLY WAR OF STOKESVILLE.

Wm. Gillum, of Alexandria, the person who set a spring gun in his poultry house, by which a man was killed a few nights ago, has been arrested for the act.

WHIG MEETING.
A WHIG MEETING will be held at Mason Hall, at 2 o'clock, on Friday the 6th of May next, for the purpose of nominating delegates to the County Convention to be held at Hillsborough on Friday of May Cent. A general attendance of all parties is requested.
April 26. 21-

DEMOCRATIC MEETING.
A DEMOCRATIC MEETING will be held in Hillsborough on the first Saturday in May, for the purpose of appointing delegates to represent Capt. Richard's district in the County Convention, to be held in Hillsborough on Tuesday of May Cent. All persons are requested to attend.
April 26. 21-

Notice.
THE firm of MEBANE & TURNER, being that day dissolved by mutual consent, they request all those indebted to the concern to come forward and settle their accounts forthwith, without further notice, as money is greatly wanted. We hope none will except themselves from this notice.
MEBANE & TURNER.
April 18. 20-

THE business will hereafter be conducted by the subscriber. He would return his thanks to the public for the liberal patronage heretofore extended to the firm, and hopes for a continuance of the same.
JAMES MEBANE, Jr.
April 18. 20-

NEW GOODS.
Strayhorn & Nichols,
HAVING removed to the corner store formerly occupied by Mickle & Norwood, are now receiving their stock of
Spring and Summer GOODS,
consisting of every variety usually brought to this market, which they offer unusually low for cash, or on a short credit to punctual dealers.
April 20. 20-

CHEAP CASH STORE.
James Webb, Jr. & Co., are now receiving their supply of
Spring Goods,
which having been purchased in New York and Philadelphia at uncommonly low prices, will be sold extremely low for cash. They have now a general assortment of goods, such as are usually kept in this market, and expect that their prices will induce persons to inquire for such articles as they need, without giving here a list of them.
R. F. All accounts and notes due will be collected immediately after May Court; those indebted will save cost by attending to this.
April 13. 19-4w

Journeymen Tailors WANTED.
ONE or two Journeymen Tailors, (good workmen) will find constant employment during the summer, if immediate application be made to the subscriber.
ROBERT F. PLEASANTS.
April 12. 19-

Notice.
THE subscribers, having taken out letters of administration on the estate of ISAIAH H. SPENCER, deceased, at February term of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions for Hyde county, do hereby give notice to all indebted to said estate to make immediate payment, and those having claims will present them properly authenticated within the time prescribed by law, or this notice will be plead in bar of recovery.
CASON C. SPENCER,
PELEG W. SPENCER,
Administrators.
April 12. 19-

For Sale.
SUPERFINE FAMILY FLOUR, also a small quantity of BUCKWHEAT FLOUR.
MICKLE & NORWOOD.
January 15. 11-

Groceries! Groceries!
A Fresh Supply.
THE subscribers have just received a fresh supply of GROCERIES, which have been selected with great care, and will be sold low for cash. Those who wish to procure good articles on very reasonable terms, are respectfully requested to give them a call. Their stock is comprised in part of the following:

50 bags Coffee, including Rio, Java, &c.
Best Brown Sugar
Havana Sugar
Best Loaf and Crushed Sugar
Molasses
Raisins
Black Tea
Best Green Tea
"Black"
Herring
Salt
Bar Iron, assorted
Steel
Floor Iron
Sheet " "
Cut Nails, assorted
Mould-boards
Castings
Welding Hoes
Spades and Shovels
Manure Forks
Polished Trace Chains
Best Chewing Tobacco
Spanish Cigars
Tupentine Soap
Tallow Candles
Sperm " "
Spanish Indigo
Madder
White Lead in kegs
Dry White Lead
"Red Lead"
Spice
Black Pepper
Ground & Race Ginger
Cloves
Mace
Camphor
Putty
Salt Petre
Alum
Epsom Salts
Glauber Salts
Copperas
Ground Log Wood
Lamp Black
Feathers, Beeswax, and Tallow, will be received as cash.
MICKLE & NORWOOD.
April 5. 19-

Equity Sales.
James and William Smith—Petition to sell Real Estate.
BY virtue of a decree in this case, made at March term, 1842, I shall proceed to sell to the highest bidder, at the house of John Moore, on the 6th day of May next, a TRACT OF LAND containing sixteen and a half acres, adjoining the lands of Henry O'Daniel and others. Also, ONE TRACT of ninety six acres, adjoining the lands of Jesse O'Daniel and others. A credit of twelve months will be given, the purchaser giving bond and approved security.
JAMES WEBB, c. & M.
April 5. 18-4w

Thomas Moore—Petition to sell Real Estate.
BY virtue of a decree in this case, made at March term, 1842, I shall proceed to sell to the highest bidder, before the court house in Hillsborough, on the 23d day of May next, a TRACT OF LAND on the waters of Morgan's creek, adjoining the land of Wm. Brewer, and others, containing two hundred and fifteen acres. A credit of twelve months will be given, the purchaser giving bond and approved security.
JAMES WEBB, c. & M.
April 5. 18-4w

Francis Henderson and others—Petition to sell Land.
BY virtue of a decree in this case, made at March term, 1842, I shall proceed to sell to the highest bidder, before the court house in Hillsborough, on the 23d day of May next, a TRACT OF LAND on the waters of Morgan's creek, adjoining the land of Wm. Brewer, and others, containing two hundred and fifteen acres. A credit of twelve months will be given, the purchaser giving bond and approved security.
JAMES WEBB, c. & M.
April 5. 18-4w

Nathaniel M. Carrington and wife v. Daniel Mangum and others.
Petition to sell Land.
BY virtue of a decree in this case, made at March term, 1842, I shall proceed to sell to the highest bidder, before the court house in Hillsborough, on the 23d day of May next, a TRACT OF LAND on the waters of Morgan's creek, adjoining the land of Wm. Brewer, and others, containing two hundred and fifteen acres. A credit of twelve months will be given, the purchaser giving bond and approved security.
JAMES WEBB, c. & M.
April 5. 18-4w

Baxter Davis and wife, and others v. John Strain and others.
Petition to sell Land.
BY virtue of a decree in this case, made at March term, 1842, I shall proceed to sell to the highest bidder, before the court house in Hillsborough, on the 23d day of May next, a TRACT OF LAND on the waters of Morgan's creek, adjoining the land of Wm. Brewer, and others, containing two hundred and fifteen acres. A credit of twelve months will be given, the purchaser giving bond and approved security.
JAMES WEBB, c. & M.
April 5. 18-4w

Miss M. D. Russell v. William C. Davis 2d.
Capt William Darlam
Alvin Darlam
John C. Douglas
James Douglass
Ruben Day
Miss Nancy N. Ellis
Edward Fonville
James Fowler
Mrs. Lucinda Frelaud
William Guess
John Harrison Glenn
William Griffin
George H. Gordon
Delia Hopkins
Mrs. Kennedy Haughton 2
Eliza Hora
John Holloway
Rebecca Hopson
Wm A. Haney
Alexander Justice 2
Frank K. Woreham
Persons calling for any of the above letters will please say they are advertised.
TIOS. CLANCY, P. M.
April 5. 18-

James Webb, Jr. & Co., are now receiving their supply of
Spring Goods,
which having been purchased in New York and Philadelphia at uncommonly low prices, will be sold extremely low for cash. They have now a general assortment of goods, such as are usually kept in this market, and expect that their prices will induce persons to inquire for such articles as they need, without giving here a list of them.
R. F. All accounts and notes due will be collected immediately after May Court; those indebted will save cost by attending to this.
April 13. 19-4w

Journeymen Tailors WANTED.
ONE or two Journeymen Tailors, (good workmen) will find constant employment during the summer, if immediate application be made to the subscriber.
ROBERT F. PLEASANTS.
April 12. 19-

Notice.
THE subscribers, having taken out letters of administration on the estate of ISAIAH H. SPENCER, deceased, at February term of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions for Hyde county, do hereby give notice to all indebted to said estate to make immediate payment, and those having claims will present them properly authenticated within the time prescribed by law, or this notice will be plead in bar of recovery.
CASON C. SPENCER,
PELEG W. SPENCER,
Administrators.
April 12. 19-

For Sale.
SUPERFINE FAMILY FLOUR, also a small quantity of BUCKWHEAT FLOUR.
MICKLE & NORWOOD.
January 15. 11-

Job Printing.
EXECUTED AT THIS OFFICE.

VERY CHEAP!!
AS the subscriber intends to continue the business at the old stand of Parker & Nelson, he would take this method to inform his friends and the public generally, that he has just received a large and well selected assortment of
Fall and Winter GOODS,
which he will sell very cheap for cash, or on a credit to punctual dealers. His stock comprises, in part, the following:

Superior wool-dyed Black CLOTHS.
Do. do. Blue do.
Do. do. Invisible Green, do.
Do. Brown, and Drab, do.
Do. Steel-mixed do.
Beaver and Pilot Cloth,
Cloaks and Overcoats,
Fancy Cassimeres, Satinets,
Kentucky James, Kerseys,
Silk, Satin, and Merino VESTINGS.
no,
Merino Gloves, Shirts, and Drawers,
Stocks, Cravats, Shirt Collars, Bosoms,
White and Green Mackinaw Blankets,
Whitney & Rose do.
Jackson and French Muslin,
Figured, striped, and plain Silks,
Black and blue-black do.
French, English and American Prints.
Black, figured, and plain Mousselin de
Lanes and Challies,
Black and blue-black Bombazines,
French and English Merinoes,
Silk and Mousselin de Lane Dress Handkerchiefs,
Paglioni, Rob Roy, and Plaid Shawls,
Long Lawn, Hem-stitch and Linen Cambric Handkerchiefs,
Dannak and Bird-eye Diaper,
Bleached and brown Table Covers,
Irish Linen, black and brown Holland,
Worked Collars, Edgings and Insertings,
Florence and Straw Braid, Silk and Cypress Bonnets,
Hoods, Flowers, Bonnet Ribbons, Umbrellas, &c.
ALSO,
Beaver, Fur, Brush and Wool HATS,
Gentlemen's and Boy's Fur, Cloth, and Hair CAPS,
Gentlemen's pegged and sewed Boots and Shoes,
Coarse Broghans,
Ladies' Leather and Morocco Shoes and Slippers,
Do. Gaiter Boots,
Boys and Misses Boots and Shoes,
Glass, Queensware, Crockery, and Stone Ware,
Hardware and Cutlery,
Chocolate, Mace, Cloves,
Molasses, Loaf and Brown Sugar,
Black and Green Teas,
Powder, Shot, Nails, Window Glass,
White Lead and other Paints, &c. &c.
and all other articles usually brought to this market.
WILLIAM NELSON.
November 23. 01-

Negroes for Sale.
THE subscribers will offer for sale, for cash, at Hillsborough, on the 23d day of May next, being the Monday of May Court, EIGHT or NINE VERY LIKELY NEGROES, being the same which were purchased by them to save a security debt, and are now offered for sale for their indemnity. The title is beyond dispute, but will be warranted.
ALEXANDER CHEEK,
by C. W. Johnston,
C. W. JOHNSTON,
WM. BARBEE.
March 13. 16-1s

List of Letters,
Remaining in the Post Office at Hillsborough, N. C. on the 1st day of April, 1842, which, if not taken out in three months, will be sent to the General Post Office as dead letters.

A. Anti-Institution Society
Mrs. Margaret H. Allen
James Ashley
B. Rachel Ballard
Calvin S. Brown
John Brown
Abner Balford
S. M. Barbee
William B. B. sen.
William L. Bowls
C. Henry Cate
Reuben Carden
Clerk of County Court
Isaac Crabtree
William Couch 2
Samuel Couch, esp.
John H. Crutcher 2
James Crutcher 2
D. Miss M. D. Russell
William C. Davis 2
Capt William Darlam
Alvin Darlam
John C. Douglas
James Douglass
Ruben Day
E. Miss Nancy N. Ellis
Edward Fonville
James Fowler
Mrs. Lucinda Frelaud
William Guess
John Harrison Glenn
William Griffin
George H. Gordon
Delia Hopkins
Mrs. Kennedy Haughton 2
Eliza Hora
John Holloway
Rebecca Hopson
Wm A. Haney
Alexander Justice 2
Frank K. Woreham
F. Sally Petty
David D. Paul
J. R. Patterson
A. J. Peckles
Wm C. Phelps
G. S. E. Quick
H. George Rindles
Dilly R. R. R.
William Rogers
Louisa Robson
James Roach
I. Thomas J. Sharp
Charles C. Smith 2
Alexander Strain
Samuel W. Simpson
Mary Staley
Spencer & Murray
J. James Turner, sen.
Jas. Thompson (Smyth Town)
Page True
K. James Lindsey
Wm A. Lea
Thomas Lashley
John L. Moore
John Alarduck
Geo. W. Morrow
Sally M. Kay
John A. McManis
Samuel Mehan
Norton McCulloch

Notice.
Application will be made to the next General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, for a division of the county of Orange.
MANY VOTERS.
March 16. 15-

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Piano Forte & Music STORE,
Petersburg, Va.

CHS. BERG & CO. have received during the present week TEN PIANO FORTES, among which is a fine and half Octave Piano Forte, a very superior one to any ever seen here. They have now on hand a very large stock, and would respectfully request those Ladies and Gentlemen of Hillsborough and environs who are in want of Pianos, to call and see them and try them; and they will be convinced of their superiority to any other manufactured by their durability and keeping in tune longer than any other.

They have also on hand a large assortment of MUSIC of the latest publication for Piano and Guitar, Strings of all sorts, best Violins, Flutes, Accordions, all kinds of Brass Instruments for Military Bands, Drums of all sizes, &c. &c.
C. Berg & Co. would respectfully recommend their assortment of Pianos and Music to Principals and Teachers of Schools. Any order shall be faithfully and promptly attended to.

For the convenience of purchasers in North Carolina, Doctor Watson of Oxford, having kindly consented to act as our Agent, has now on hand some of our instruments. We shall shortly establish agencies in other parts of North Carolina, knowing that whenever our Pianos become known they will be preferred to any other.
July 13. 22-

Saddling Business.
THE subscribers, having established themselves in Hillsborough, one door below the Printing Office, would respectfully announce to the public that they have on hand an extensive assortment of all the articles in their line of business, viz:

Saddles, Bridles, Martingales,
Carriage, Gig, and Carryall Harness,
Trunks, (both wood and iron frames),
Carriage, Sulkey, Drover's, Twig and Wagon Whips,
Collars of all kinds,
Saddle Bags, Travelling Bags, and Buffalo Robes,
A fine and large assortment of Bits, Stirrup Irons, Spurs, &c. &c.
All orders for the manufacture of articles, for repairing &c. done at the shortest notice, and in the best style.

They promise that no exertion on their part shall be spared to give satisfaction to the public; and earnestly request the favour of a trial.
HOOKER & D. PHILLIPS.
January 5. 05-

Moffat's Vegetable Life Medicines.
THESE Medicines are in debt for their name to the manifest and sensible action in purifying the springs and channels of life, and ending them with renewed tone and vigor. In many hundred certified cases which have been made public, and in almost every species of disease to which the human frame is liable, the happy effects of MOFFAT'S LIFE PILLS and RHINX BITTERS have been gratefully and publicly acknowledged by the persons benefited, and who were previously unacquainted with the beautifully philosophical principles upon which they are compounded, and upon which they consequently act.

The LIFE MEDICINES recommend themselves in diseases of every form and description. Their first operation is to loosen from the coats of the stomach and bowels the various impurities and crudities constantly settling around them, and to remove the hardened masses which collect in the convolutions of the small intestines. Other medicines only partially cleanse these, and leave such collected masses behind as to produce habitual constipation, with all its train of evils, or sudden diarrhoea, with its imminent danger. The fact is well known to all regular anatomists, who examine the human bowels after death, and hence the prejudice of these well informed men against quick medicines, or medicines prepared and heralded to the public by ignorant persons. The second effect of the Life Medicines is to cleanse the kidneys and the bladder, and by this means the liver and the lungs, the healthy action of which entirely depends upon the regularity of the urinary organs. The blood, which takes its red color from the agency of the liver and the lungs before it passes into the heart, being thus purified by them, and nourished by food coming from a clean stomach, courses freely through the veins, renews every part of the system, and triumphantly mounts the banner of health in the blooming cheek.

Moffat's Vegetable Life Medicines have been thoroughly tested, and pronounced a sovereign remedy for Dyspepsia, Flatulency, Palpitation of the Heart, Loss of Appetite, Heartburn and Headache, Restlessness, Irritability, Anxiety, Langour and Melancholy, Costiveness, Diarrhoea, Cholera, Fevers of all kinds, Rheumatism, Gout, Dropsies of all kinds, Gravel, Worms, Asthma and Consumption, Scoury, Ulcers, inveterate Sores, Scorbatic Eruptions, and Red Complexions, Eruptive complaints, Sallow, Cloudy and other disagreeable Complexions, Erysipelas, Salt Rheum, Common Colds and Influenza, and various other complaints which afflict the human frame. In Fever and Ague, particularly, the Life Medicines have been most eminently successful; so much so that in the Fever and Ague districts Physicians almost universally prescribe them.

All that Mr. Moffat requires of his patients is to be particular in taking the Life Medicines strictly according to the directions. It is not by a new paper notice, or by any thing that he himself may say in his favor, that he hopes to gain credit. It is only by the results of a fair trial.

Moffat's Medical Manual;
designed as a Domestic Guide to Health—This little pamphlet, edited by Wm. B. Moffat, 375 Broadway, New York, has been published for the purpose of explaining more fully Mr. Moffat's theory of disease, and will be found highly interesting to persons seeking health. It treats upon prevalent diseases, and the causes thereof. Price 25 cents. For sale by Moffat's agents generally.

These valuable Medicines are for sale at the Office of the Hillsborough Recorder.
D. HEARTY, Agent.
May 20. 22-

Brandreth's Pills.

A VEGETABLE and Universal Medicine, proved by the experience of thousands, to be what properly persevered with, a certain cure in every form of the Urinary Disease, all having the same origin, and invariably arising from the UNIVERSAL ROOT of all diseases, namely IMPURITY or IMPERFECT CIRCULATION of the BLOOD.

In a period of little more than three years in the U. S. they have restored to a state of health and enjoyment over ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND persons, who were given over as incurable by physicians of the first rank and standing, and in many cases where every other remedy had been resorted to in vain.

In all cases of Pain or Weakness, whether chronic or recent, whether it be deafness of the ears, or whether it arise from constipation, or from internal or external injury, it is cured by persevering in the use of these Pills.

This principle of purging with Brandreth's Pills, removes nothing but the useless and decayed particles from the body—the morbid and corrupt humors of the blood, those humors which cause disease—they improve the functions of the liver when they settle upon the organ, and which, when they settle upon the muscles, produce gout; or upon the lungs, produce consumption; or upon the intestines, constipation; or upon the lining of the blood vessels, apoplexy and paralysis, and all the train of disorders so melancholy to the sufferer and all who behold them.

Yes, purging these humors from the body is the true cure for all these complaints, and every other form of disease. This is a mere assertion—it is a demonstrated truth, and each day it is extending itself, far and wide, it is becoming known, and more and more appreciated.

The cure by purging may more depend upon the laws which produce weakness or purity, than may be generally imagined. Whatever tends to stagnate, will produce richness, because it tends to putrefaction; therefore the necessity of constant exercise cannot be used from ANY CAUSE, the occasional use of Brandreth's Medicine is ABSOLUTELY required. Thus the conduits of the blood, the fountain of life, are kept free from those impurities which would prevent its steady current ministering health. Thus morbid humors are prevented from becoming mixed with it. It is nature which is thus assisted through the means and outlet which she has provided for herself.

The following gentlemen have been appointed agents for the sale of Brandreth's Pills: Dennis Hearty, Hillsborough.

Siedman & Ramsay, Pittsborough.
Hargrave, Gaither & Co. Lexington.
Joseph A. Sichel, Midway, Davidson.

James B. McDade, Chapel Hill.
J. M. A. Drake, Ashborough, Randolph
John R. Brown, Privilege, Do.
M. C. Gardner, St. Lawrence, Chatham.

G. A. Mebane, Marion Hall, Orange.
E. & W. Smith, Alamance, Guilford.
J. & R. Sloan, Greensborough.
J. & R. Reid, Troublesome Iron Works, Rockingham.

James Johnson, Wentworth, Do.
Wood & Neal, Madison, Do.
J. W. Burton, & Co., Leaksville, Do.
Owen McAleer, Yanceyville, Caswell.
J. R. Callum, Milton, Do.

December 18. 48-12m

Last Notice.
ALL persons indebted to O. F. LONG & CO., are earnestly requested to come forward and make immediate payment, between this and May Court.

Those who fail to attend to this, may expect to be waited upon by an officer without any exception.
O. F. LONG & CO.
April 4. 18-

Notice.
THE undersigned expects to attend the United States District Court at Newbern, on the 4th Monday in April, and the Circuit Court of the United States at Raleigh, on the 12th of May. I shall be pleased to attend to any applications for the benefit of the Bankruptcy Law, or other business in either of the Courts. Written applications addressed to me at Milton, N. C. will be attended to.
N. J. PALMER,
Attorney of the U. States Courts.
March 24. 17-3w

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